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THE TALE OF MELIBEUS AND JOHN OF GAUNT

BY J. LESLIE HOTSON

Certain critics of the *Canterbury Tales*, otherwise friendly, have paused upon emerging from Chaucer's translation of *l'Histoire de Mélibée et dame Prudence* and looked back along its ample lengths without favor. Some confess that they perused it with no extreme pleasure; others are glad to be done with it; and still others, with Professor Ker, cry out upon its insufferable moralizing. But in recent years, I think, a change has made itself felt in this matter of morals and literature. The pendulum of taste, after an extreme recoil from the pinchbeck parables written to edify the Victorian young person, has swung back a bit more toward the normal.¹ Today, I feel sure, there is an increasing number of readers of Chaucer who, confronted with this *Tale of Melibeus* and its masterly brief for the case against war, read it for their own interest.

Yet, whether the great modern audience enjoys the tale, or not, is after all of little moment to Chaucer; or for that matter to his fellow pilgrims, who plainly liked the *Melibeus* as thoroughly as they disliked his "drasty ryming" of *Sir Thopas*. Chaucer presents the story as a "moral tale vertuous", familiar and acceptable to the company. He justifies the slight variations and additions in his version by the variety of the Gospels:

"For somme of hem seyn more, and somme lesse,
Whan they his pitous passioun expresse.
I mene of Mark and Mathew, Luk and John;
But doutelees hir sentence is al oon."

(2139-2142)

Therefore, he continues,

"thogh that I telle som-what more
Of proverbes than ye han herd bifore
Comprehended in this litel tretis here . . . (2145-7)
Blameth me nat. . ." (2151)

¹See Professor Tatlock's excellent discussion of the *Melibeus* in his *Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works* (Chaucer Society, 1907), pp. 189-190.

And they do not. Harry Bailly, indeed, listens *arrectis auribus*; and when the tale is told, its picture of the exemplary and pacific wife stirs him to speak (more in the husband than in the host) from the depths of his heart:

“ I hadde lever thanne a barel ale
That goode lief my wyf had herd this tale! ” (3083-4)

Melibeus made a deep impression not only on our Host but also on Geoffrey Chaucer. This fact emerges unmistakably when the *Merchant's Tale* is compared to the “litel thing in prose”. Koepel's study² shows plainly enough that numerous passages in the *Merchant's Tale* are nothing but bits of *Melibeus* in verse. Professor Tatlock³ for the first time makes clear the further strong influence of *Melibeus* on the characters and on the plot of the *Merchant's Tale*.

Chaucer, then, is profoundly impressed with the *Melibeus*; and furthermore, on the pilgrimage he tells the tale himself. His evident partiality for it leads one to suspect some specific occasion for its composition: an occasion, perhaps, in which Chaucer was closely interested.

The purpose of this paper is to suggest that the *Melibeus* is a political tract, designed to dissuade John of Gaunt from launching on the invasion of Castile, in 1386.

§ 2

First, then, let us consider the relations of Chaucer with John of Gaunt. Chaucer was seventeen when he met the fourth son of Edward III, then Earl of Richmond, and laid the foundation for their friendship. Armitage-Smith, in his admirable life of Lancaster,⁴ says, “Before this the poet may have come under his notice in the King's household, but at the Christmas feast of 1357 they met in a more intimate manner, for both were staying at Hatfield in Yorkshire with Lionel, now Earl of Ulster in the right of his wife, Elizabeth de Burgh. Upon Chaucer's fortunes this meeting had a lasting effect, for the friendship of John of Gaunt secured to him the favour of the court so long as his patron lived. . . .”⁵

² Herrig, *Archiv.*, lxxxvi, 30-39. ³ *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

⁴ *John of Gaunt*, Sydney Armitage-Smith, London, 1904.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 10; *Life Records of Chaucer* (Chaucer Soc.), p. 99.

They both set out on the great expedition to France in 1359-1360; and it was on this march, at Rethel, that Chaucer had the misfortune to be captured.⁶ About ten years afterward, 1369-1370, the poet wrote for his friend the *Book of the Duchess*, a tender memorial to the noble grace of the Lady Blanche, first wife of John of Gaunt; and at the death of Lancaster, thirty years later, this woman was still cherished in his thought.⁷

The Lady of the Court Philippa, whom Chaucer married, in all probability was the sister of Katharine Swynford, the third Duchess of John of Gaunt.⁸ On August 30, 1372, a pension of ten pounds a year was granted by the Duke of Lancaster to Philippa Chaucer;⁹ and in 1374 Geoffrey Chaucer received from the Duke ten pounds a year for life, in consideration of his own and his wife's services.¹⁰

These evidences, taken together, justify us in calling John of Gaunt a chief protector and friend of Chaucer.

§ 3

To understand the political situation in 1386, and the positions of Lancaster and Chaucer in that situation, we must retreat a bit in order to march into 1385 with the events.

We must examine first John of Gaunt's relation to the kingdom of Castile. In 1350 Pedro I, at the age of 16, came to the throne

⁶ *Life Records*, pp. 154, 265.

⁷ Compare the first clause in John of Gaunt's will:

"En primes jeo devise m'alme a Dieu et a sa tresdouce miere Seinte Marie et a le joy ciel, et mon corps a estre ensevelez en l'eglise cathedrale de Seint Poule de Londres, pres de l'autier principale de mesme l'esglise, juate ma treschere jadys compaigne Blanch illeoq's enterre."

Armitage-Smith, p. 420.

And, later, two obits; one for himself and one for Blanche: ". . . en la suisdite esglise de Saint Poule deux obite, cest assavoir, pur m'alme un obit solemnement a celebrer chescune an le jour de mon trepassement, et pur l'ame de ma dite nadgaires compaigne Blanch un obit solemnement a celebrer chescun an le XII jour de septembr' a toutz jours."

Ibid., p. 423.

⁸ *Life Records* 334: I, xvi f; li f.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 181.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 192.

of Castile and Leon.¹¹ The period was one of consolidation of gains in territory, and called for a firm central government. But feudalism was strong and stubborn. Pedro thought to crush opposition by frequent and well-chosen executions: he succeeded only in adding blood-feuds to existing anarchy and in alienating the Church. In 1366 Enrique of Trastamare, bastard half-brother to Pedro, bearing the sanction and aid of the Avignon Papacy, entered Spain at the head of a column of French mercenaries. He met with little resistance, and was crowned king. Pedro the Cruel, meantime, fled to the Black Prince at Bordeaux for help. Prince Edward, urged by policy as well as by a feeling for legitimacy in royal lines, asked England for support in taking up Pedro's cause. John of Gaunt, in England, voted for the war, and joined his brother in Aquitaine. Prince Edward advanced money to cover immediate expenses, and his brother Lancaster returned to England to gather men.

In February, 1367, Edward's army crossed the Pyrenees by the pass of Roncevalles; and on April 3 at Najera, with John of Gaunt commanding the vaward, the Black Prince defeated Enrique of Trastamare in a last and supreme victory. But Pedro did not keep his promises; indeed, he proved so egregiously perfidious that the English prince, bitter and revengeful, shook off the dust of Spain from under his feet. Its supports gone, the throne tottered to a fall. Pedro the Cruel was no match, two years later, for Enrique of Trastamare when the latter returned to the attack with Bertrand du Guesclin and a choice body of French men-at-arms at his back. At Montiel, March 13, 1369, the king was hopelessly routed. On the following day he was enticed from his refuge into du Guesclin's tent; "and there, with the aid of Olivier de Mauni, du Guesclin's cousin, Enrique of Trastamare stabbed his brother, the last monarch of the House of Burgundy."¹²

Now the keynote of John of Gaunt's life, like that of many an

¹¹ Armitage-Smith, p. 35.

¹² Armitage-Smith, p. 64.

Compare Chaucer's *tragedie*:

"And after, at a sege, by subtiltee
Thou were bitrayed, and lad unto his tente,
Wher-as he with his owene hand slow thee,
Succeeding in thy regne and in thy rente."

De Petro Rege Ispannie, Monk's Tale, 3568-3572.

earlier Plantagenet, is a desire for Continental sovereignty. When he met Constance of Castile, heir of the murdered Pedro, he saw in her hand an opportunity to play for the great stake of a kingdom in Spain. He took it: and, two years after the death of the Duchess Blanche, the Duke of Lancaster married Constance, and assumed the royal style of Castile and Leon. From this time forward his mind was fixed on realizing his dream.¹³ As King of Castile he made an alliance with Portugal hostile to the Trastamare.

Until occasion should serve, however, he busied himself with military and diplomatic affairs for the English Government. In 1373 John of Gaunt led an ill-starred expedition into France. The ultra-Fabian tactics of the French allowed the warlike Englishman to ravage the country and to be ravaged by disease. This disaster increased the Duke's unpopularity in England, already great as a leading figure in an unpopular ministry. He was attacked in Parliament; and the revenge he took on the Commons and the Clergy did not add to their love for him.

After faithfully serving his nephew Richard II in difficult negotiations with France and Scotland for several years, John of Gaunt, with his eyes fixed on Spain, proposed to the Parliament of 1382 to borrow 60,000 pounds, on the security of his lands, in order to hire and equip an army for the conquest of Castile.¹⁴ Although he was by far the richest feudatory of the English Crown, the Commons hesitated to grant him the money, on account of the great financial embarrassment of the time. Lancaster argued in vain that England must support his brother, Edmund Plantagenet, who was at the moment in Portugal with a small force ready to attack Juan of Trastamare. The money was not forthcoming, and Edmund's expedition came back in ignominy.

Within a year, however, a new and vigorous Regent, João I. was elected in Portugal. He sent eloquent envoys to England forthwith, to collect men for a campaign against the illegitimate Castilian. John of Gaunt began again the work of persuading the Commons to lend him the gold he needed. His request was not granted until late in 1385. And even then, following the brilliant victory at Aljubarrota, when the Portuguese men-at-arms, stif-

¹³ Armitage-Smith, p. 100.

¹⁴ *Rot. Parl.* III, 114a.

fened by a body of English archers, had crushed the Castilian army, and the envoys had posted to England with the urgent appeal of "Now is the time to strike," and Lancaster had again laid his proposal before the House,—even then, in all probability, the Commons would not have voted the supply if the political enemies of John of Gaunt had not suddenly agreed with his friends that it was good that he go.

§ 4

The alignment of the parties in this intense and bitter period in England's political history has been most carefully studied by Armitage-Smith.¹⁵ Briefly, the parties were four in number. First, the Court party, composed of the King's young friends and favorites: its policy was for as much extravagance, strife, and headlong war as possible; and it numbered among its leaders the sinister figures of young de Vere, Earl of Oxford, and Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham. The Right was held by an equally grim and unscrupulous opposition, led by the Earl of Arundel and supported by Thomas of Woodstock, the youngest brother of John of Gaunt. This party, because of the unthrifty rule of Richard, attracted not a few adherents among the people. Separating these adversaries, who were only too eager to come to a trial of strength, were two groups of moderates: the moderate Constitutionalists, and the Lancastrians. Richard Le Scrope and Michael de la Pole led the Constitutionalists; at the same time they were both retainers of John of Gaunt. Thus for the moment the two moderate parties worked together.

Lancaster's great influence was something of a White Elephant: he did not always know where to place it. Though naturally in sympathy with the Crown, he was estranged at court by the hostility of the young favorites. But if on that account he should fall into the opposition, he would forsake his principles, and, what was worse, be accused of aspiring to the throne himself.

In the colossal power of Lancaster each of the extreme parties saw a block to its ambitions. Each was afraid to move, for fear the other should suddenly gain that fatal support. What was to be done? At length a light broke on them, and the way out was

¹⁵ Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*.

clear: give John of Gaunt what he has desired for years, pack him off to Spain, and clear England's political decks for action.

Such a solution, of course, was no solution. England got rid of an enormous sum in gold, thousands of English soldiers, and ships which she could ill spare—to what end? Why, to be free to precipitate a bit of civil war!

§ 5

Lancaster's departure on his rash and ill-advised *vendetta* did not, however, please everyone. They who depended on his protection for their livelihood saw dark days ahead. Among those who suffered severely was Geoffrey Chaucer. When the Lancastrian cat was away, five lords, led by Thomas of Woodstock, forced themselves on the Government as a Regency. In the course of their "investigation" of the alleged abuses in the Customs service, they were probably responsible for the dismissal of Chaucer from his two positions on December 4 and 14, 1386.¹⁶

Two years passed. John of Gaunt was still in Spain; and in 1388 Chaucer was reduced to the wretched necessity of selling his pension of forty marks.¹⁷

Now in 1385, when the momentous step was being taken, Geoffrey Chaucer was neither fatuous nor blind: he must have foreseen the disaster which would inevitably follow John of Gaunt's plunge into private war. And he was not alone in this. Another good friend of Lancaster, Michael de la Pole, Lord Chancellor and retainer of the Duke, had stood for a solid peace with France in 1384; and in 1385, after the fiasco of the King's invasion of Scotland, "Pole was more than ever bent on peace."¹⁸ In a last effort to leave nothing untried which might keep Lancaster in England and so avert the impending strife, the few friends who saw straight may well have turned to Chaucer, the greatest English writer and close friend of the Duke, for aid; or Chaucer may have acted on his own initiative.

Whatever the origin of the project, Chaucer could have found no finer instrument ready to his hand than this excellent story of

¹⁶ *Rot. Parl.* III, 375; *Life Records*, I, xxv; 268-269.

¹⁷ *Life Records*, I, xxxvi; 272.

¹⁸ *Diot. Nat. Biog.* xvi, 30-31.

Melibeus,¹⁹ which was known to the Court circle²⁰ both in the Latin original of Albertano and in the more compact French reworking.²¹ In the first place, it was nearly a century and a half old: and sheer age lent no little force to a medieval treatise. Furthermore, it was of "hy sentence"; its morals and arguments were driven home with authorities venerable and cogent. Albertano's choice of authorities is interesting. Mr. Sundby points out²² that the *Liber Consolationis et Consilii*, when it was written, was in advance of its time. "Medieval moralists," he says, "as Gautier de Lille in his *Moralium Dogma*, frequently composed their manuals almost exclusively from sayings of the ancients. Albertano has not done so; he very often quotes the Bible and Christian writers." There can be little doubt that, in an age of religious controversy, the *Melibeus*, with its many Biblical texts, carried great weight.

¹⁹ Excellent, that is to say, in the opinion of the Middle Ages. Lydgate, who was as good a judge of literary merit as any, mentions but three of the *Canterbury Tales*; and, first and foremost, the *Melibeus*:

"And some also of grete moralite,
Some of disporte, including grete sentence;
In prose he wrote the Tale of Melibe
And of his wife, that called was Prudence;
And of Grisildes perfitte pacience;
And how the Monke of stories new and olde
Piteous tragedies by the weye tolde."

—*Falls of Princes*, Lounsbury, *Studies* 1, 421.

²⁰ For the author apologizes:

"And thogh I nat the same wordes seye
As ye han herd. ." (2149-2150)

²¹ The Latin original, by Albertano of Brescia: *Liber Consolationis et Consilii*, was edited by Thor Sundby for the Chaucer Society, and was published in 1873. The French version is attributed either to Renaud de Louens or to Jean de Meun. One French text of *l'Histoire de Mélibée* has been edited in *Le Ménagier de Paris*, by Jérôme Pichon for La Société des Bibliophiles Français, Paris, 1846, in Vol. 1, pp. 186-235. "*Melibé et Prudence*, the French original of Chaucer's 'Tale of Melibe,' ed. from the MSS. by Dr. Mary Noyes Colvin" has been announced since 1900 as in preparation for the Chaucer Society, but, so far as I know, has never been issued.

²² *Op. cit.*, p. xx.

John of Gaunt, moreover, is found to be as religious as any nobleman of his time. His "household breathes an atmosphere of conventional piety." "His confessors are among the most important officers of the household." "Conventional in all things, in none was he more conventional than in his religious practice. . . ." ²³ Furthermore, he never questioned accepted doctrine. At his hands, then, such a work, translated by such a man, would be sure to receive a sober hearing, no matter how bent he was on carrying out his purpose.

But, besides a powerful body of moral argument, Chaucer must have found in the *Melibeus*, a document almost incredibly well fitted in innumerable details to the present case of John of Gaunt. We must keep in mind that no allegory is introduced into the tale by Chaucer. He had but to translate the thing as it stood, changing no essential, and the Duke could not fail to see, as in a mirror, himself as *Melibeus* and his own better sense (or perhaps that of Katharine Swynford) as the allegorical *dame Prudence*.

And "for the more declaracioun, lo here the figure":

§ 6

Melibeus

(1) "A yong man called Melibeus,"
(2156)

John of Gaunt

(1) In 1385 John of Gaunt was 45 years of age: no longer to be called "yong" except in complimentary language. Once before, however, Chaucer had perhaps delicately under-estimated the Duke's age.²⁴ But whether he did or not, we cannot suppose that the adjective would be a serious rub in the way of understanding the application of the story.

²³ Armitage-Smith, pp. 177, 176, 180.

²⁴ "In the *Book of the Duchess* (l. 455) Chaucer gives the age of John of Gaunt as 'four and twenty' instead of nine and twenty as it should have been. This has been explained, it is true, as a possible error of xxiiij for xxviii by the loss of v in copying. Yet such an explanation has always seemed to me less likely than that Chaucer was purposely flattering the young prince by an understatement of his age."

—O. F. Emerson, *Chaucer's Testimony as to His Age*, *Modern Philology*, xi, 125.

(2) "mighty and riche," (2156)

(2) The Duke of Lancaster was the richest and most powerful subject of Edward III and of Richard II.²⁵

(3) "bigat upon his wyf that was called Prudence, a doghter which that was called Sophie." (2156)

(3) So far as we know, Chaucer named the daughter of Melibeus. She was anonymous in both the Latin original and the French version. The name carries, perhaps, a politic reminder to the impatient Duke that Wisdom is born of Prudence.

(4) "... he . . . is went into the feeldes. . . . (2157) Three of hise old foos han it espyed . . . and by the windowes been entred, and betten his wyf, and wounded his doghter with fyve mortal woundes in fyve sundry places; this is to seyn, in hir feet, in hir handes, in hir eres, in hir nose, and in hir mouth,²⁶ and leften hir for deed, and wenten away." (2158-2161)

(4) This, of course, is allegory, and would be taken in two senses. Three old foes of John of Gaunt (Enrique, du Guesclin, and Mauni) in 1369²⁷ had murdered Pedro of Castile. The other group of three enemies, as familiar to John as to every son of the Church, is spiritual, and is described later in the tale: "the three enemies of mankinde, that is to seyn, the flessch, the feend, and the world, thou hast suffred hem to entre into thyn herte wilfully by the windowes of thy body, and hast nat defended thyself suffisantly agayns hir assautes and hir temptaciouns, so that they han wounded thy soule in fyve places; this is to seyn, the deedly sinnes that been entred into thyn herte by thy fyve wittes."²⁸ (2610-2614)

²⁵ Armitage-Smith, Chapter 10.

²⁶ The French text, which Chaucer here follows, departs from the original Latin, which has: "videlicet in oculis, auribus, ore et naso ac manibus."

—Albertano, *Liber Consolationis et Consilii*, p. 2.

²⁷ Chaucer describes them in heraldic cant:

(5) Three enemies injured Melibeus through the wrong done to his wife and daughter. (2159-2162)

(5) Three enemies²⁹ injured John of Gaunt, in that they injured Constance, whom he later married; and by usurpation kept the one daughter from the throne.

Aljubarrota was won on August 14, 1385,³⁰ and ambassadors sped to England.

(6) "When Melibeus returned was into his hous, and saugh al this meschief, he lyk a mad man, rending his clothes, gan to wepe and crye." (2162)

(6) While they were urging the Duke to act on his opportunity, the Duchess and her daughter fell on their knees before John of Gaunt, and after passionately begging him to avenge the murder and claim his right, burst into tears and wept.³¹

Prudence strives to quiet his bitter weeping (2163-87); but he protests, "trewely myn herte is troubled with this sorwe so greuously, that I noot what to done."

" . . . thy brother . . . with his owene hand slow thee .
The feeld of snow, with th'egle of blak therinne,
Caught with the lym-rod, coloured as the glede,
He brew this cursednes and al this sinne.
The 'wiqked nest' was werker of this nede."

—*Monk's Tale*, 3568, 3571, 3573-3576.

²⁸ Compare John of Gaunt's Will: "*Item jeo devise entier pur arde entour mon corps le jour de ma sepulture . . . cink cierges grosses en l'onur des cink plaies principalx n're seigneur Jesu, et pur mes synk scens lesquels j'ay multz negligentment despensie, dounte je prie a Dieu de mercy.*"

—Armitage-Smith, p. 421.

²⁹ There is still another group of three enemies in the war against Spain which may have suggested itself to John of Gaunt. It is described in a Latin poem of Walter of Peterborough, a monk in Lancaster's household:

"uNam tres contra tres inierunt praelia fratres,
Per multas matres causa fuere patres,
vTres stupro geniti, reliqui tres lege mariti,
Illicitis liciti tres tribus oppositi."

And the gloss: "*uPrinceps E., dua J., et rex P., contra tres bastardos; duo, scilicet, princeps et dua, fratres fuerunt genere, et tertius, scilicet Petrus, frater fuit foedere eis.*

"*Hoc dicitur pro Aldefonso, qui praeter uxorem tenuit concubinas, de quibus genuit . . . ('tres bastardos').*"—Wright, *Pol. Poems*, I, 101. Rolls Series.

³⁰ Armitage-Smith, p. 298.

³¹ "O duque outhorgava com o que elle dizia, mas por os feitos da casa

(7) “‘Lat calle,’ quod Prudence, ‘thy trewe freendes alle, and thy linage which that been wyse; telleth your cas, and herkneth what they seye in conseling, and you governe after hir sentence.’ Thanne, by the conseil of his wyf Prudence, this Melibeus

(8) leet callen a greet congrega- tion of folk; as (9) surgiens and phisiciens, old folk and yonge; and (10) somme of hise olde enemies reconciled as by hir semblaunt into his love and into his grace; and therwithal

(7) Thereupon Parliament was called to consider John of Gaunt’s proposal. It was summoned by writ dated September 3, and sat from October 20 to December 6, 1385.³²

(8) Parliament contained, of its 250 and more members, (9) archbishops and bishops, old men and young men, and (10) some reconciled enemies of John of Gaunt.³³

de Inglaterra, em que até então fôra occupado, se escusava de o não poder fazer, e fallando em estas razões, a duqueza se fincou em gíolhos ante elle com a infanta Dona Catharina, sua filha, e começou a dizer:

—‘Senhor, de quantas boas andanças vos deu Deus n’este mundo em vossas guerras e trabalhos por os feitos alheios, parece-me que mais razão seria trabalhardes vós por vossa honra, e por cobrar herança é minha e de vossa filha, de que estamos desherdados, ca o reino de Castella a mim pertence de direito, e não aos filhos do trédor bastardo que matou meu padre, como não devia.’

E em dizendo esto, choravam ambas, a filha e madre.”

—F. Lopes, *Chronica d’El-Rei D. João I*, v, 83.

³² *Rot. Parl.* III, 203-14.

³³ The year before, in the Salisbury Parliament, a clumsy plot had been hatched by the Court party, led by de Vere and Mowbray, to accuse Lancaster of treason and thus get rid of him. The plot came within an ace of succeeding. (Higden, *Polychronicon* IX, 33-40; Armitage-Smith, 282-287.)

Not in the least dashed, the favorites put forth another and a more desperate effort, this time with the probable connivance of the King. In February, 1385, the second plot, which was to seize the Duke and execute him on a trumped-up charge of treason, leaked out. Lancaster let the King know in no uncertain terms his opinion of the favorites, and warned him that he would not attend Richard while the latter surrounded his person with would-be murderers. In March, however, Princess Joan contrived to bring about an apparent reconciliation between her son and her brother-in-law. (Higden, IX, 55-59; Monk of Evesham, 60; Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.* II, 126.)

Once more, and this only a short time before Parliament was summoned, while their invasion of Scotland was on, de Vere fanned the fire afresh between Richard and his uncle. The King accused Lancaster of treason;

(11) ther comen somme of hise neighebores that diden him reverence more for drede than for love, as it happeth oft." (2190-2195)

(11) If, applying this to the Parliament of 1385, we consider Lancaster's position and that of his feudatories, officers, and retainers who were also Members,³⁴ and his wide-spread unpopularity, "Ther nedeth make of this noon argument; The verray preve sheweth it in dede."

(12) "Ther comen also ful many subtile flatereres, and wyse advocats lerned in the lawe." (2196)

(12) Compare the Latin-English poem *On the Times*,³⁵ 1388: "Rowners and flatereres"³⁶ *hi regno sunt nocituri.*"

intervention by the nobles was necessary to bring the two to a semblance of concord. (Higden, ix, 63-65; Walsingham, II, 131-2; *Eulogium Hist.*, 358; Knighton, II, 204-206; Froissart (ed. Kervyn), x, 376-405.)

³⁴A thorough detailed comparison of the Members for 1385 (*A Return of Every Member of Parliament*, 1878) with the *Register of John of Gaunt* (ed. Armitage-Smith, Camden Soc., 1911) shows the following identities:

Parliament: (1) Thomas Fychet, *miles*, Somerset co.; (2) John Paulet (1382 "Raulyn", 1384 "Poleyn", 1387 "Pole"), Devon co.; (3) Johannes Mautravers, *miles*, Dorset co.; (4) Willielmus Heyberere, Gloucester co.; (5) Willielmus Pappeworth, *chivaler*, Huntingdon co.;

Listed as *retainers* in *John of Gaunt's Register*: (1) Thomas Fichet, *chivaler*, (document no.) 845; (2) John de la Pole (see *Index*); (3) John Mautravers (Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, p. 444); (4) William Haybere, *esquire*, 812; (5) William de N. de Pappesworth, *esquire*, 486.

William Gambon (Cambridge co.) was Constable of Knaresboro Castle, belonging to Lancaster, 13, 40, 272, etc.; Robert Ursewyk (Lancaster co.), held an office in John of Gaunt's forests of Quernemore and Aumondernesne, 1564; Willielmus de Adderly (Derby co.) was a tenant of the Duke, 143, 1793; Hugh de Calvely (Rutland) often fought under Lancaster's banner, 45, 51, 915, etc.; William de Melton (York is entered on the Duke's payroll, 31 March 1372, for 65 pounds, 10 shillings, 169; John de Annesley, *chivaler*, (Notts), William Crook (Gloucester borough), Thomas Saleman (Surrey), Thomas Graa (York city), and John Colvyll, *chivaler* (Cambridge co.), were employed by John of Gaunt in August, 1372, 49, 50; John Dyn (Cinque Ports) held a chapel of the Duke, 1789.

The *Register* has been published only in part, covering the years 1372-1375. We may infer that the entries for the ten unpublished years following would yield many more "neighebores" of John of Gaunt who sat in the Parliament of 1385.

³⁵Wright, *Political Poems*, I, 271. ³⁶And Chaucer's apostrophe:

"Allas! ye lordes, many a fals flatour

(13) "And whan this folk to-gidre assembled weren, this Melibeus in sorweful wyse shewed hem his cas; and by the manere of his speche it semed that in herte he bar a cruel ire, redy to done vengeance upon hise foos, and sod-eynly desyred that werre sholde biginne; but natheles yet axed he hir conseil upon this matere." (2199)

(14) "A surgien, by license and assent of swiche as weren wyse, up roos and unto Melibeus seyde as ye may here.

"'Sir,' quod he, 'as to us surgiens aperteneth, that we do to every wight the beste that we can . . . and to our pacients that we do no damage. Wherefore unto our art it is nat pertinent to norice werre, ne parties to support. . .'" (2201-2203) Almost right in the same wyse the phisiciens answerden, save that they seyden a fewe wordes more: 'That, right as maladyes been cured by hir contraries, right so shul men warisshe werre by vengeance.'" (2205-2206)

Is in your courtes, and many a losengeour,
That pleseth yow wel more, by my feith,
Than he that soothfastnesse unto yow seith.
Redeth Ecclesiaste of flaterye;
Beth war, ye lordes, of hir trecherye."

(B. 4515-4520)

²⁷ Armitage-Smith, 304; *Papal Letters*, iv, 264-265.

²⁸ Armitage-Smith, 305. Cf. *Foedera*, vii, 507-8.

(13) It is not difficult to visualize the scene when John of Gaunt laid his case before Parliament, nor to see the desire for incontinent war written on his face. The parallel here is very close.

In 1385, which fell during the Great Schism, Clement of Avignon was for the Trastamare, while Urban supported Portugal. Urban conferred on John of Gaunt the title "Standard Bearer of the Cross" against Juan of Castile.²⁷

(14) The Clergy, who in the procedure of Parliament spoke first, would naturally style themselves the spiritual ministers of both sides in a quarrel, and disclaim all desire for war. But in 1385 they let it be known unmistakably that war, in this cause, was right. They made John of Gaunt's expedition a crusade.

"The secular arm seconded the efforts of the Church, and in every county of England the sheriffs, by royal mandate, published the Bull promising absolution to all who directly or indirectly should further the expedition of the Duke for the succour, help, and comfort of the Holy Mother Church against the schismatic usurper of Castile."²⁸

(15) "An advocat that was wys" is the next spokesman. He shows the danger of going to war too hastily, and advises Melibeus, on behalf of his group, thus: "that right anon thou do thy diligence in keping of thy propre persone, in swich a wyse that thou wante noon espye ne wacche, thy body for to save. And after that we conseilte that in thyn hous thou sette sufficient garnisoun, so that they may as wel thy body as thyn hous defende.

'But certes for to moeve werre or sodehynly for to doon vengeance, we may nat demen in so litel tyme that it were profitable.'" (2215-2217)

(16) "Up stirten thanne the yonge folk at-ones, and the moste partie of that companye han scorned the olde wyse men, and bigonnen to make noyse, and seyden: that, right so as whyl that iren is hoot, men sholden smyte, right so, men sholden wroken hir wronges whyle that they been fresshe and newe; and with loud voys they cryden, 'werre! werre!'" (2224-2225)

(15) In the case of the "advocat" we have no means of *knowing* whether there was a close parallel or not. But a shrewd guess is possible.³⁹ That part of the moderate or Lancastrian party which could see the Duke's best advantage would be the last to consent to the war. The sudden support given by Lancaster's bitter enemies to his dear project must have seemed a Greek gift to the cooler heads among his followers. Those friends who knew of the two attempts on the Duke's life—and who did not?—would advise him to guard his body and his castles against attack. It was highly unsafe to leave the terrain free for action by his adversaries.

(16) The young Court party, the King's favorites, were, as we have already seen, anxious for war with Spain as a means of getting rid of Lancaster.

³⁹ Richard Le Scrope, another retainer of Lancaster (1380-1384), called by Bishop Stubbs "the Duke's friend and honest adviser" (*Const. Hist.* II, 489), was one of the two great leaders of the moderate party. He was 58 years of age (*Dict. Nat. Biog.* xvii, 1080) in 1385, and had twice been Chancellor of England (1378-80, 1381-82). He was son of Sir Henry Le Scrope, chief justice of the King's Bench, and is described by the Monk of Evesham as "*Legum Doctor*" (*Vit. et Regn. Ricardi* II, p. 71). He would undoubtedly be a spokesman in the Parliamentary debate of 1385, and we are not entirely uncertain as to what the tenor of his advice in this case would be.

(17) "Up roos tho oon of thise olde wyse . . . (2226) 'Lordinges,' quod he, 'ther is ful many a man that cryeth "werre! werre!" that woot ful litel what werre amounteth. . . .' (2227)

"And when this olde man wende to enforcen his tale by resons, wel ny alle at-ones bigonne they to ryse for to breken his tale, and beden him ful ofte his wordes for to abregge. (2232)

"And whan this wyse man saugh that him wanted audience, al shamefast he sette him doun agayn. . . . (2235)

"'I see wel,' quod this wyse man, '. . . that good conseil wanteth whan it is most nede.'" (2237)

(18) "Whan Melibeus hadde herd that the gretteste partie of his conseil weren accorded that he sholde maken werre, anon he consented to hir conseil, and fully affermed hir sentence.

"Thanne dame Prudence, whan she saugh hir tyme, seide him thise wordes: 'My lord,' quod she, 'I yow biseche as hertely as I dar and can, ne haste yow nat to faste, and for alle guerdons as yeveth me audience.'" (2239-2241)

The rest of the tale is masterly persuasion conducted by Prudence: she is respectful but cogent. She

(17) Michael de la Pole, Lord Chancellor of England, was 55 years of age in 1385. He was a retainer of John of Gaunt, and at the same time, with Arundel, was counsellor in constant attendance on the King and governor of his person. Of course, a moderate and a retainer of Lancaster in this intimate connection with the King was *persona non grata* to the King's young favorites.

"His attachment to the court involved him in a growing unpopularity, both with the great barons and with the people. . . ." "In the Parliament of 1384, Pole wisely urged the need of a solid peace with France; but the Commons, who were anxious enough to end the war, were not prepared to purchase peace at a high price, and Pole's proposal was ill received. . . ."

"After the failure of this undertaking (the invasion of Scotland in 1385) Pole was more than ever bent on peace."⁴⁰

(18) In spite of the few who spoke for peace, Parliament ratified Lancaster's proposal: "*Et sciendum quod dictum viagium dicti Regis Castellii in Ispannium concordatum fuit et concessum per dominum regem, prelatos, proceres, magnates, et communitates predictas in pleno Parlamento.*"⁴¹

Lancaster set about his preparations; but at least seven months elapsed between Parliament's grant and the departure of his fleet from Plymouth. It was during this period that attempts must have been made to dissuade him.

⁴⁰ *Dict. Nat. Biog.* xvi, 30-31.

⁴¹ *Rot. Parl.* III, 204b.

disposes at once of every objection that her noble lord raises, by quoting impeccable authority; and everywhere seasons her formal argument with sound advice. That "greet congregation of folk," for example, was a tactical blunder: if he needs counsel—as every man does—let him resort to his true friends discreet and wise, and not to flatterers or enemies.

In February, 1385, as we have seen, after Lancaster had been forewarned against the attempt of the sinister young nobles upon his life, he went by night with a strong guard to the King at Sheen.

(19) "Thou shalt also have in suspect the conseilling of wikked folk. For the book seith, "the conseilling of wikked folk is alwey ful of fraude." And David seith, "blisful is that man that hath not folwed the conseilling of shrewes." Thou shalt also eschewe the conseilling of yong folk; for hir conseil is nat rype." (2386-88)

(19) Entering, armed, in sufficiently hard and bitter terms he rebuked his royal nephew for having about him such wicked counsellors; and closed with a word of advice: to remove those men to a safer distance, and to adhere to more healthy counsel.⁴²

Eight months later, in Parliament, John of Gaunt did exactly what he had advised his nephew not to do; he listened to the counsel of the unscrupulous favorites, simply because that counsel now fell in with his own wishes.

(20) At this point (2388), in translating, Chaucer silently omitted a passage in his original which deploras the state of a country which has a boy for a king: "De quoy Salemon dit: dolente est la terre qui a un enfant à seigneur! Et le philosophe dit que nous n'eslisons pas les jeunes en princes,

(20) As Professor Tatlock has well argued,⁴³ this omission is a plain bit of evidence that the work was translated during the young years of Richard II; and while preferring to place the *Melibeus* later, (in 1388-1394), he admitted that "The fit would have been particularly exact, of course, in the *middle*

⁴² "Demum loricated ingressus est cum paucis ad regem qui ut decuit facta debita veneratione satis dure et aspere est eum primitus allocutus, increpans eum quod tandiu tam malos consiliarios secum retinuit; finaliter ipsum consulens tales ab eo penitus amovere ac de cetero viris sanioris consilii adhaerere."—Higden ix, 57.

⁴³ *Development and Chronology*, p. 192.

car communément ils n'ont point de prudence; et dit encores Salemon: dolente est la terre de quoy le prince ne se liève matin!"⁴⁴

Dame Prudence, continuing her sage conseil, advises Melibeus to be sure that he can carry through his project before he enters upon it:

(21) "Ne no wight sholde take upon hym so hevye a charge that he mighte nat bere it. For the proverbe seith: "he that to much embraceth, distreyneth lited"." (2403-2404)

Chaucer's translation, with the few exceptions already noted, and one or two others of no apparent significance, is, on the whole, very close. In line 2497, however, he departs in a curious particular from both the Latin and the French texts:

(22) The Latin has "*Custodias te ab omnibus extraneis et ignotis.*"⁴⁷ And the French, in like manner, "tu te dois garder de toutes gens *estranges et mesconnus.*"⁴⁸ But Chaucer has translated, "thane shul ye kepe yow fro alle *straunge folk and fro lyers.*"

eighties" (italics mine). Walsingham, who had none of the courtier's inhibitions, includes the same words of Solomon, "*Vae terrae cujus rex puer est,*" under date of 1383,⁴⁵ in reference to Richard.

In 1385-6, which is the date we have assumed for the composition of the *Melibeus*, Richard was eighteen years old, still a minor, and Chaucer held office under him.

(21) The keynote of Lancaster's foreign policy from 1374 to 1386 was peace with France and division of England's enemies, following the motto, "*Qui trop embrasse mal étreint.*"⁴⁶ If John of Gaunt read the *Melibeus* in 1385, this passage cast his own principle in his teeth, just as he was on the point of abandoning it.

(22) Two foreigners at this time were doing their best to influence John of Gaunt. The Grand Master of St. James and the Chancellor Lourenço Fogaça had come from Portugal eighteen months before. Taking up quarters in London, from that time forward they assiduously

⁴⁴ *Le Ménagier de Paris*, 202.

⁴⁵ *Hist. Angl.*, II, 97.

⁴⁶ Armitage-Smith, p. 118; and cf. Chaucer's *Proverbe*:

"Of al this world the wyde compas
Hit wol nat in myn armes tweyne:
Who so mochel wol embrace
Litel therof he shal distreyne." *Min. Poems*, xx.

⁴⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 69.

⁴⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 207.

Why should Chaucer go out of his way to change "strangers and unknown" into "strangers and liars"? Unless his manuscript differed from the original and from our French translation, we must suppose that he was thinking of certain foreigners whom he regarded as members of the international Ananias club.

recruited English volunteers for the Spanish war, and waited for the opportunity to push John of Gaunt into the conflict.* It came with the news of the great victory of Aljubarrota. Thereupon, as we have seen, they made their representations to the Duke more urgent and attractive. We may believe that the tale of the victory and of Lancaster's golden opportunity lost nothing in the telling. Remember the superbly indiscreet epigram credited to Sir Henry Wotton: "An Ambassador is an honest man sent to lie abroad for the good of his country." (Walton's *Life*.)

(23) Another small change may be significant: "'And certes, as so the firste poynt, it is wel knowne whiche folk been they that consenteden to your hastif wilfulnesse; for trewely, all tho that conseilleden yow to maken sodeyn werre *ne been nat your freendes*.'" (2552-53)

(23) "Ne been nat your freendes" is in neither the Albertano nor the *Ménagier*. In the latter, the part represented by Chaucer's line 2553 is a dependent clause.

Melibeus, though extremely wealthy, is a lonely man: "'Lat us now considere whiche been they, that ye holde so greetly your freendes as to your persone. For al-be-it so that ye be mighty and riche, ye ne been nat but allone. (2554-2555)

If these words are an interpolation of Chaucer's, as they seem to be, they fall in with our hypothesis: that Chaucer was urging John of Gaunt to listen to his true friends, and not to foolish or interested counsellors.

(24) 'For certes, ye ne han no child but a doghter.'" (2556) Albertano has for this passage: "Non enim habes filios masculos" (p. 77); and the *Ménagier* text: "tu . . . n'as nul enfant masle; tu n'as

(24) Any person of tact, addressing the Duke of Lancaster, would not care to remind him of John, his only son by Constance of Castile, who had died in infancy; leaving his father with but one daughter,

* Armitage-Smith, 298 f.

fors une seule fille. . . ." (p. 211). Chaucer departs from the Latin and the French versions in suppressing the direct reference to the lack of a son or heir male.

Catharine, to carry on his claim to the throne of Castile.⁶⁰

(25) "ne ye ne han bretheren ne cousins germayns ne noon other neigh kinrede, wherfore that your enemies, for drede, sholde stinte to plede with you or to destroye your persone.'" (2557-2558)

(25) We have read of attempts on John of Gaunt's life. In each case he met them himself. None of his relatives, apparently, stood up for him, or took an efficient interest in protecting his life. Certainly neither of his precious brothers did anything to avert the danger. Edmund, Duke of York, was practically a cipher. He counted for nothing, either for offense or defense, in the politics of the day; while Thomas of Woodstock, fifteen years younger than Lancaster, was his bitter political enemy, and injured his interests as much as he could while Gaunt was in Spain.

In 1385, Lancaster's one son (by the Duchess Blanche), Henry Bolingbroke, was still a boy of 19: not as yet a power to be dreaded.

(26) By appealing both to his caution and to his sense of law and order, Prudence brings Melibeus to see that private war is ill-advised as well as wrong:

"If ye wol thanne take vengeance of your enemys, ye shul retourne or have your recours to the juge that hath the jurisdiccion upon hem; and he shal punisse hem as the law requireth.'" (2631-2632)

(26) Of John of Gaunt's regard for law in the matter of private disputes, Armitage-Smith says: "The innumerable pardons for homicide registered on the Patent Rolls show how easily men passed from a word to a blow, and how often their quarrels proved fatal. A man of power like John Holland could defy the law; but though the Duke of Lancaster, if any one, stood above the law, he used his vast power with a rare restraint." (p. 416)

(27) Prudence assures Melibeus further that war under any circumstances is stupid: "It is a woodnesse a man to stryve with a

(27) Any man not blinded by ambition would have seen that the Spanish expedition was Quixotic and futile. The Trastamare had

⁶⁰ Armitage-Smith, p. 94.

strenger or a more mighty man than he is himself; and for to stryve with a man of evene strengthe. . . . it is peril; and for to stryve with a weyker man, it is folie.'" (2670-2673)

ruled Spain for sixteen years, and were established beyond a doubt. Even though Juan of Trastamare was weaker than Lancaster and frankly afraid to fight⁵¹ it was manifest folly to think, even if he were pushed to the Spanish throne by Portuguese men-at-arms, that he could long keep his seat.

(28) No less than eight times in the course of the translation, we find the pronoun of the second person singular, when it refers to Melibeus, replaced by "*thy persone*," often making a stilted structure:

"For better it were that thy children aske of *thy persone* thinges that hem nedeth' (2249); 'the maistrie and lordshipe over *your persone*' (2270); 'For certes, he maketh thilke feyned humilitee more for his profit than for any love of *thy persone*' (2377); 'whiche been they, that ye holde so greetly your freendes as to *your persone*' (neither the French nor the Latin has this last phrase at all) (2558); 'Yet dwellen ther ynowe to wreken hir death and to slee *thy persone*' (2562); 'if ye wole considere the defautes that been in *your owene persone*' (2683); 'for the grete goodnesse and debonairetee that all the world witnesseth of *your persone*' (3009); (And at this point we find such phrases as 'agayn your heigh lordshipe' (3007); 'your gracious lordshipe' (3010); 'your heigh lordshipe' (3015), none of which is to be found in either the French or the Latin texts.

(28) What are we to think of this substitution? If Chaucer did not derive these repeated expressions from his original, he had some end to serve in making the changes. That end may, of course, have been merely to improve the story by making Prudence's address to Melibeus more formal and dignified; but in the face of all the evidence, it seems more probable that Chaucer had a more definite purpose: to fit the language to the dignity and lofty estate of the man to whom it was probably addressed—"John of Gaunt, King of Castile and Leon, Duke of Aquitaine and Lancaster, Earl of Derby, Lincoln, and Leicester, Seneschal of England."

⁵¹His chronicler, a Spaniard, admits the fact: "é ovo dello muy grand enojo: ca temia mucho la guerra, por quanto avia grand mengua de Gentes de armas en el su Regno, ca les mas é mejores Capitanes avia perdido en la guerra de Portugal de pestilencia é de batallas."—Ayala, II, 252.

Prudence conquers Melibeus in the end. She seeks out his enemies, speaks mild words to them; and at her request they come, humble and contrite, before Melibeus. "And whan they were comen to the presence of Melibee, he seyde hem thise wordes: 'it standeth thus, . . . and sooth it is, that ye, causeless, and withouten skile and resoun, han doon grete injuries and wronges to me and to my wyf Prudence, and to my doghter also. For ye han entred in-to myn hous by violence,"⁵² and have doon swich outrage, that alle men knowen wel that ye have deserved the deeth.'"

But at length Prudence carries the last stronghold of his revengeful spirit: he is touched by the repentance of his enemies, and forgives them: "Therefore I receyve you to my grace, and foryeve yow al outrely alle the offences, injuries, and wronges, that ye have doon agayn me and myne . . . that god of his endeless mercy wole at the tyme of our dyng foryeven us our giltes . . . and bringen us to his blisse that never hath ende. Amen.'"

§ 7

To recapitulate the steps in this investigation: We know that Chaucer's protector, John of Gaunt, was preparing in 1385 to enter on a rash war to recover a heritage and to avenge a private wrong. In doing so, he followed the advice of his political enemies, as well as his own inclination, against the dictates of prudence.

We also know that when the protecting influence of Lancaster was gone, Geoffrey Chaucer lost his employments, and was reduced to wretched financial straits.

Now at some time or other, Chaucer translated, on the whole very faithfully, a highly persuasive treatise against private war. It resembles political writing far more closely than any other of his extant works, with the possible exception of *Truth: a balade de bon conseyl* (in which Chaucer gives personal political advice to his friend Sir Philip La Vache). It fits, with startling exactness, many known details of John of Gaunt's case in 1385.⁵³

⁵² It is hardly necessary to point out again that the Trastamare had by violence entered into the estate of the House of Burgundy and by the outrage had wronged Constance of Castile, and later, her husband Lancaster and her daughter.

⁵³ *Melibeus* contains warnings against assassination. Such passages, which Chaucer found in his original, would be pertinent in the case of John of Gaunt. Chaucer knew from experience the dangers to which the unpopular Duke was exposed. Armitage-Smith says: "Five times in ten years he was threatened with assassination. Putting aside the conspiracy of the Spaniards who tried to poison him at the close of his invasion of

(1) Prudence advises Melibeus: 'ne tak no company by the weye of a straunge man, but-if so be that thou have knowe him of a lenger tyme. And if so be that he falle in-to thy company paraventure withouten thy assent, enquere thanne, as subtilly as thou mayst, of his conversation and of his lyf bifore, and feyne thy weye.' (2498-2500) 'Yet shaltou drede to been *empoisoned*.' (2518)

(1) On his invasion of Spain, John of Gaunt was joined on the road by a stranger, who tried to poison him: "Andando el-rei e o duque n'aquella conquista que ovistes, vindo um dia á tornada, entre Çamora e Touto, . . . juntaram-se uma vez gentes de cavallo, . . . e d'entre os castellãos sahiu um homem de cavallo, correndo quanto podia por se lançar com os portoguezes. . . . E apresentado disse que elle vinha a elles como seus senhores. . . . O duque e sua mulher quando esto ouviram, contaram-l'ho por gran bondade, . . . traziam-n'o em boa conta segundo deus eguaes; e elle vinha por lhes dar *peçonha*. . . ."—Lopes, V, 177.

(2) Again: "Thanne shul ye evermore counterwayte *embusshe-ments*?"

(2) And on his return from Spain: "Si est vray que jauoye mise une *embusche* pour tuer le duc de Lancastre qui est la assis."—*Chron. Trais. et Mort*, p. 16.

"For you, my noble Lord of Lancaster,
The honorable father to my foe,
Once I did lay an *ambush* for your life. . . ."

—*Richard II*, II, 1.

(3) 'and all *espiaille*' (2507)

(3) "Et outre ceo, les ditz Mesfesours et Tretours ordeigneront, qe *bon Espie* serroit fait sur la Arryvaile de Monsr de Lancastre, & q'il serroit arestuz meintenat sur sa arryvaile."—*Rot. Parl.* III, 234a.

We have some evidence as to the date of this work. An obvious echo of a line from the *Troilus* appears in it. Also it has been shown to have exercised powerful influence on the *Merchant's Tale*.

1387, there remain four distinct plots against the Duke's life hatched in England between 1384 and 1394." (p. 416.) Chaucer was anything but a prophet; still it is interesting to see how well the warnings which he translated from his original were justified by later events.

These facts, with attendant probabilities, narrow the period of possible composition of the *Melibeus* to the decade 1380-1390. Furthermore, the significant suppression of the passage "Vae terrae cujus rex puer est" points definitely to the *middle eighties*.

There is strong reason, then, in the face of this evidence, to believe that Chaucer did not acquiesce supinely in the move which was to cost him so dear; that he did the best that a great author and humble friend could do, in such a crisis, for a proud nobleman: that is, he translated the *Tale of Melibeus* in the winter of 1385-1386, and quietly presented it to the Duke as his latest piece of work.

If the inferences drawn in this paper are sound, the *Melibeus* takes on a new and profound importance for the life of Chaucer. It reconstitutes a critical part of his biography, and sheds light on him as a participant in the momentous debates and decisions of 1385,—showing the many-sided Chaucer writing in a new *genre*: the political pamphlet.

Harvard University.